DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 398 149 SO 026 781

AUTHOR Mische, Patricia, Ed.
TITLE Religion and World Order: Proceedings of the Symposium on Religion and Global Governance (Washington, DC, February 4, 1994).
INSTITUTION Global Education Associates, New York, NY.
PUB DATE 4 Feb 94
NOTE 57p.; Sponsored by the Religion Council of Project Global 2000.
AVAILABLE FROM Global Education Associates, 475 Riverside Drive, Suite 1848, New York, NY 10115.
PUB TYPE Collected Works - Conference Proceedings (021)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC03 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Culture; Development; Economics; *Ethics; Foreign Policy; *Global Education; *Religion; *Religion Studies; *Religious Education; World Affairs

ABSTRACT

This proceedings focuses on religion and global governance, and addresses what kind of new world order will be present in the 21st century. Members of seven different religious traditions spoke from their perspectives on the contribution of religion to the development of ethical and humane systems of global governance, with special relevance to human rights, peace and conflict resolution, economic well-being, ecological sustainability and cultural integrity. The panelists interacted among themselves and with the audience on how the world's religions can contribute their traditions, memories, faith, and spirituality in a positive way to shape future global structures of mind and global political entities. In particular, they discussed: (1) proposed elements of a shared global ethic; (2) the requirements for a truly global civic society; (3) policies, systems, and instruments to support a global society; and (4) multi-religious strategies for advancing effective world systems. (EH)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED 398 149

Religion and World Order

SO 026 781

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)
X This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.
• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

Proceedings of the

Symposium on Religion and Global Governance

Sponsored by
The Religion Council of Project Global 2000

February 4, 1994 Washington D.C.

PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE AND DISSEMINATE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
SHARON FRITSCH
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Proceedings of the

Symposium on Religion and Global Governance

February 4, 1994 Washington D.C.

Sponsored by

The Religion Council
of Project Global 2000

Coordinated by

Global Education Associates

Patricia Mische, Editor

Rosie Rodman, Editorial Assistant

Acknowledgements

We gratefully acknowledge the generosity of the following people whose partnership has contributed to the success of the symposium and to the production of this booklet: Patricia Mische for planning, organizing, and moderating the symposium and editing the proceedings; Rosie Rodman for transcribing the tapes and word processing; Sharon Fritsch, CSJ, for taping the proceedings and her written summary of the proceedings; David Douglass for his computer graphics; William Vendley and Norma Levitt of the World Conference on Religion and Peace for collaborating in the planning of the panel; the discussants for their participation; and, of course, the panelists for so generously contributing their time and expertise.

C Copyright, 1994
Global Education Associates
475 Riverside Drive, Suite 1848
NY, NY 10115 (212) 870 - 3290

CONTENTS

Introduction and Overview, *Patricia Mische, Moderator* 1

Guideline Questions for Religion and World Order Program, Project Global 2000 9

A Jewish Response, *Rabbi Marc Gopin* 11

A Baha'i Response, *John Huddleston* 13

A Christian Response, *David Little* 17

An Islamic Response, *Serif Mardin* 20

A Hindu Response, *Anand Mohan* 23

A Sufi Response, *Abdul Aziz Said* 26

Discussion 33

Summary and Recommendations 43

List of Participants 48

APPENDICES

Global Education Associates 50

Project Global 2000 51

Religion Council of Project Global 2000 52

An Introduction and Overview

PATRICIA M. MISCHE, Moderator

Patricia Mische is a co-founder of Global Education Associates, and the Coordinator of the Religion Council of Project Global 2000. She is also the author of numerous works, including Toward a Human World Order *(with Gerald Mische) and "Toward a Global Spirituality," and the editor of* Breakthrough.

It is now commonplace to speak of a new world order. But there is not yet a shared vision of what that new world order should be. We live in a transformative moment, but how deep will that transformation go? The task of shaping a new world order has yet to be undertaken. It beckons to us on the road ahead as a challenge and opportunity to create the not yet but possible future.

Thus, the question now before us is not *whether* there will be a new world order, but *what kind* of world order? Based on what values? With what underlying vision and spirit? Guided by what kind of ethical principles and policies? By what systems and structures? Who will shape this new world order? For whose benefit? Will the 21st century see a repeat of the violence, ethnic cleansings, apartheids, genocides and ecocides of the 20th? Or will we who live on the cusp between two centuries use the openness of this historical moment to develop a more humane, just, peaceful, and ecologically sustainable world order? Can we shape a world order that benefits not only some of us, but all of us; not only those of us living now, but also those yet to come who will inherit the world we create?

These are some of the questions being addressed in Project Global 2000 (PG2000), a partnership of 4 UN agencies and 13 nongovernmental organizations who are collaborating to expand public discourse and action for more humane and ecologically sustainable global systems. People from different walks of life who want to participate in this process can do so through the project's six program councils: Business, Communications, Education, Health, Youth, and Religion. (See Appendix for more information on Project Global 2000).

The Religion Council of PG2000 is sponsoring a series of initiatives to the year 2000 that involve people from the major world religious and spiritual traditions in world order reflection and action. Working groups from different religious and spritual traditions are holding consultations and producing documents and discussion tools on the contribution their spiritual tradition, scriptures, teachings, and networks can make to the development of a global ethic and systems that can respond effectively to the global crises and opportunities of today's interdependent world. These documents will be developed for use in reflection, action, and collaboration by and among: (1) members of the respective religions and spiritual communities; (2) multi-religious networks and gatherings; and (3) UN agencies, governmental organizations, and secular nongovernmental organizations interested in ethical and religious contributions to more humane global systems.

The multi-religious symposium reported on in these pages was part of this process. it was sponsored by the Religion Council of Project Global 2000 in conjunction with the Third Global Structures Conference in Washington DC. Six panelists, each from a different religious tradition, were invited to animate the discussion with brief opening responses or reflections on one or more of the Guideline Questions being addressed in the Religion and World Order Program. (See Guideline Questions on pages 9 and 10.) The panelists were asked to include touchstones and contributions from their own religious traditions in responding to these questions. For example, how can their Scriptures, teachings, spiritual disciplines, contribute to the development of ethical principles and humane global systems for peace and conflict resolution, economic well-being, human rights, ecological balance, and cultural integrity? Or, how can the members and institutions and networks of their religious or spiritual community collaborate with the UN agencies in developing more effective responses to global concerns? Following the panelists' initial responses, the questions were taken up in open interaction among the panelists and audience/discussants.

The following pages include the panelists' opening remarks and a transcript of the discussion that followed. Unfortunately, due to some technical problems, some of the remarks by audience/discussants were not audible and are not included in these proceedings. A summary of the proceedings and recommendations submitted to the Global Structures Conference is included at the end of the Discussion section, along with a list of audience discussants.)

The Need

The approaching 50th anniversary of the United Nations, to be celebrated in 1995, provides a special framework and point of reference for exploring the kind of world structures needed for the next century. When the United Nations Charter was drafted and signed in 1945, the world faced a particular set of problems and challenges. Now, 50 years later, there is a new nexus of military, economic, environmental, population, human rights, and health problems that were not anticipated at that time. These problems can only be dealt with through new levels of global cooperation and strengthened global systems.

Existing international institutions were shaped in the shadows of World War II and the Cold War that followed. While the war was still on, Allied powers began planning for a new world order and institutions that would focus on two main concerns: (1) the prevention of future wars, and (2) the reconstruction of war-devastated economies and international monetary relationships. The United Nations was designed to address the first; the World Bank and International Monetary Fund the second.

Those involved in drafting the UN Charter were not aware of work on an atomic bomb. Even when the final document was signed in June, 1945, those who signed it were not among the few select military, scientific and political leaders who knew of the secret work under way on a new weapon. They did not anticipate Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Nor could they foresee the nuclear arms race and threat of nuclear proliferation that followed. Nor did they anticipate the Cold War and how it would obstruct the UN's effectiveness.

Instead of the new world order based on collective security that had been envisaged, what emerged instead was a bipolar world order -- one driven by the arms race and economic and ideological conflict between the military powers aligned on either side of the Cold War divide. This division dominated and obstructed the UN Security Council and some other UN agencies. It dominated international relations. The major powers viewed all their international relations through this screen. An entire generation of national and international policy-makers was trained to think and act within this framework. They, and the institutions they created and maintained, are now ill-prepared to lead their nations or the world toward solutions to the new economic and environmental threats that have emerged.

Also in 1945, much of the world was still colonized. Great numbers of the world's peoples were under foreign domination and not represented or consulted in the San Francisco negotiations that shaped the UN Charter. Only 51 nation-states participated in determining the principles and structures that would frame the new international organization. In the decades

that followed, self-determination and democratization movements spread worldwide. More than 100 new nation-states came into existence, seeking equal representation and decision-making power in the international community.

Environmental concerns were also not on many peoples' minds in 1945. None of the drafters of the UN Charter or the subsequent Declaration and Covenants on Human Rights foresaw threats to the Earth's air, water, soil, rainforests, and plant and animal species on the scale we do today. They never imagined that human activities would one day threaten global climate change and a growing hole in the Earth's protective ozone layer, or that the transboundary shipment or dispersal of toxic and radioactive wastes would become a bone of international contention. Nor did they consider the need to protect the rights of future generations to a healthy environment. Today all these issues are before the world community, but without adequate global structures to respond effectively.

Furthermore, when the Charter was drafted, the underlying assumption was that states were the only legitimate international actors. "We the peoples" were the first words in the UN Charter, but, in fact, "the peoples" were not given a real role or voice. The centrality and ultimate authority of the nation state was enshrined in the new Charter and other international agreements that followed. Thus, in the new community of nations there was not only a failure of democratization between the member states (some states were more equal than others), there was also a failure of democratization or representation from below -- i.e. a failure to recognize the source of sovereignty or authority in peoples.

At the same time, because states were so determined to hold on to absolute national sovereignty, they failed to delegate sufficient sovereignty or authority at the global level to make the new global institutions really effective in protecting peace and security and human rights. Consequently the UN was left relatively powerless to prevent or effectively deal with acts of aggression and mass violations of human rights.

In the last few years, this state-centric system has been increasingly challenged from both above and below. From below, people's movements and nongovernmental organizations, often acting in solidarity across state borders, are pushing for a greater voice and role in shaping the global policies and structures that affect their lives. There is a growing global civic literacy and sense of global citizenship. This new global literacy is generating demands for democratization of global institutions; demands to let "we the peoples" have a greater role in global governance. At the same time there is growing recognition -- including among some heads of states -- that, in an interdependent world, national sovereignty is largely an illusion.

Global environmental and economic threats pay little attention to national borders or sovereign banners. If there is to be an adequate response to these transboundary threats, some sovereignty must be delegated to global level institutions to make them more effective. The question is not one of totally abandoning the principle of state sovereignty. Rather, it is one of determining how much sovereignty to invest at local, national and global levels of governance, and for which purposes. There is a need for effective systems at all the appropriate levels where decisions have to be taken -- local, national, and global.

Our generation lives in a rare moment of history, a transformative moment. The end of the Cold War, the emergence of global communications systems, the continuing pressure for democratization at all levels -- from local and national to global structures -- are all signs of a historic window of opportunity. This is a very open and malleable period in history. Old systems are breaking down and new ones are in process of being created.

But this malleability will not last forever. There is a very narrow margin of time to make a difference in the shape of these new systems and structures. For better or worse, new systems and structures will be developed. Once institutionalized they will be very difficult to change. Decisions are being made now that will shape the norms, policies, and systems that govern the world far into the 21st century.

The Important Role of Religious Networks

Societies, cultures, and human institutions are shaped not only by political and economic forces, but also by religious and spiritual forces. Throughout history spiritual visionaries and religious leaders have had a powerful influence on the shaping and maintaining of worldviews and culture. The teachings of Lao Tzu, Confucius, Buddha, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, Paul, Mohammed, and Baha'u'llah, for example, have had a far more profound and lasting effect on thought patterns and lives than have political revolutionaries.

The great world religions include members from different races, nationalities, and ethnic backgrounds. Their loyalties and identities often transcend national boundaries. They are global communities in microcosm, with shared values, beliefs, and social agendas.

Of course, this does not mean that religion always plays a positive role in human interactions. The very features that contribute to a sense of belonging for some may contribute to a sense of exclusion for others. Religious differences have often turned into divisiveness, self-righeousness, and fanaticism, contributing to conflict, hostilities, and sometimes brutality, atrocities, and war. Organized religion has also sometimes been a tool of the state, used to

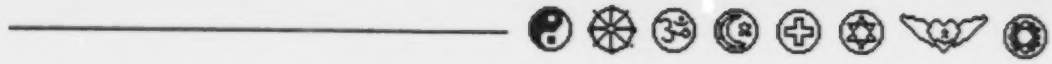
manipulate people's loyalties toward blind obedience and unquestioning allegiance to state power. Or it has sometimes made itself indistinguisable from the state, wielding political power for its own gains. And one does not need to be a Marxist to so that religion has sometimes been an opiate that numbed people into acceptance of hunger, poverty, and injustice and thus impotent to effect change.

But the very fact that organized religion can and has sometimes been such a powerful force in war and human destructiveness, also suggests that it can play a powerful role in bulding and sustaining systems of global peace, human rights, social justice, and ecological balance. Just as there is ample evidence of human destructiveness perpetrated in the name of religion, so is there evidence of the creative force religion and spirituality have sometimes been in inspiring creative solutions or energizing new directions in history. In his explorations of the rise and fall of great civilizations, the historian Arnold Toynbee found that spirituality and religion played a significant role in bridging the time/space between the fall of one civilization and the rise of another. The "creative minorities" that helped build new civilizations from the ashes of the old were often operating from a strong spiritual impulse. In contrast, civilizations that lost their spiritual core were not long sustained.

If we accept Toynbee's conclusions about the importance of spirituality and religion in the rise and fall of civilizations, then we are led to certain conclusions about the importance of spirituality in the development of any truly new world order or *global* civilization in our time. Inner spiritual growth and transformation may be as, or even more, important than external political changes in global systems. Put another way, inner, spiritual growth, and the development of more democratic, effective, and humane global systems, may be inseparable parts of a holistic world order. They develop in conformity to one another and are mutually reinforcing. The nurturing of a deeper, global consciousness, and the harnessing of spirtual and moral energies for a more just and humane world order, are vital aspects of its healthy development.

The more destructive behavior of some members of organized religions needs to be distinguished from the *authentic* spiritual or religious impulse. The Latin word *religare*, from which the word for religion in many Western languages is derived, means "harmony," "to unify," "bind together," "make whole." In Eastern languages the words for religion have the same or similar meanings. In Sanskrit, for example, one of the original meanings for *dharma* (eternal religion) is "to bind together the whole universe."

Despite some major variations between different religions and religious experience in different historical periods and societies (e.g., belief in gods or a God is not common to all religions), there are some important similarities or commonly shared aspects of religious



experience. Spirituality and religion usually include a sense of the numinous or transcendent. They have evolved from a sense that reality is greater than self or the sum total of measurable physical, economic, political, or other phenomena. Religion and spirituality have been defined as our unitive experience -- i.e., the experience of "the holy" or "whole," or of the "ultimate," "sacred," and "unknowable." It has also been defined as the human effort to discover some order (cosmos) in disorder (chaos).

Some have described religion as a means by which societies interpret life and develop and reinforce codes of morality and conduct in keeping with those interpretations and the requirements of community life. It has also been described as those beliefs and practices by means of which a group designates and seeks to deal with its deepest problems of meaning, suffering, and injustice.

In these understandings of authentic religion and spirituality, then, world order is not something peripheral or outside the realm of religion, but rather at its deepest core of interest, experience, and concern.

In addition to the meanings, spiritual experience, and moral/ethical considerations religion brings to questions of world order, there is also the power of its networks and institutions. The major world religions have world wide networks of organizations, educational and medical institutions, alumni, research institutes, local communities, and social- and civic-action projects. They can and often do operate across national boundaries with greater ease than many government officials, unbound by the constraints that often tie the hands of governmental actors. They can be major actors in the development of a more peaceful, equitable, and ecologically sustainable world order. They can contribute important scholarship and professional expertise to help resolve some of the grave issues that confront humanity. Their members, programs, and institutions put them in touch with leaders and shapers of public policy. They can be important partners and co-creators in the development of a more humane and just world order.

There is a growing interest by UN agencies, and secular NGOs to collaborate with religious institutions and networks to develop a relevant framework of values and leadership for global systemic change. They recognize the valuable contributions that religious networks can play in building a viable future. For example, for some years the UN Environment Programme (UNEP) has sponsored the Environmental Sabbath (or Environmental Holy Days) with the cooperation of world religions and spiritual traditions. UNEP also welcomed the cooperation and support of religious NGOs in the process leading to the Earth Summit and in efforts to develop global environmental ethics. UNESCO has sponsored conferences on the Contributions

of Religions to the Development of Cultures of Peace. UNICEF and the World Conference on Religion and Peace (WCRP) collaborated in promoting the Convention of the Rights of the Child. Since 1971, the WCRP has been convening regional and global conferences of religious leaders to cooperate in building world peace, and recently undertook an initiative in collaboration with UN officials to explore ethical guidelines for humanitarian intervention. The Global Forum of Parliamentary and Spiritual Leaders sponsors conferences bringing together governmental and religious leaders to address global issues. And UNICEF and UNESCO are working with Global Education Associates and Project Global 2000 to link religious networks with the worldwide "Education for All" education and development efforts.

In his address to government representatives at the Earth Summit (Rio, 1992) Secretary General Maurice Strong emphasized the imperative to develop and promote a vision of the sanctity of creation and an ethic of social justice and ecological sustainability:

> Changes in behavior and direction must be rooted in our deepest spiritual, moral and ethical values. We must reinstate in our lives the ethic of love and respect for the Earth which traditional peoples have retained as central to their value systems. This must be accompanied by a revitalization of the values common to all of our principal religious and philosophical traditions. Caring, sharing, cooperation with and love of each other must no longer be seen as pious ideas, divorced form reality, but rather as the **indispensable basis for the new realities on which our survival and well-being must be premised.**

The Religion and World Order Program of Project Global 2000 provides a process and context for religious and spiritual communities to reflect on what and how, from their tradition and experience, they can contribute to the values and systemic challenges we face today. It invites religious networks to explore the kind of perspectives and structures needed in today's interdependent world if there is to be peace, economic well-being, environmental security, human rights, and cultural integrity. It urges them to join with members of other religious and spiritual traditions -- and with secular non-governmental organizations and United Nations agencies -- to conceptualize and work together for the fundamental elements of a cooperative world order and a global vision that affirms the oneness of the human community and the sacredness of all life.

The symposium proceedings on the following pages are one contribution in this ongoing process. Each panelist was asked to respond to one or more of the following questions. Their responses, and the ensuing discussion between them and other discussants offer rich insights for this ongoing discourse and action.

GUIDELINE QUESTIONS

Religion and World Order Program
Project Global 2000

1. Working Toward a Shared Global Ethic

The creation of a peaceful, equitable and sustainable future is, at its heart, as much an ethical and spiritual matter as it is a matter for economic and social policy and legal systems. In today's interdependent world, there is a need for strong ethical foundations for policies and systems at global as well as local and national levels. The new global-scale challenges that are accompanying the rapid growth of global economic and ecological interdependence require that we now move toward a shared ethic that, while respecting national, cultural, and religious differences, provides a common framework for responding to global challenges. What values and principles can your sacred texts, ethical systems, teachings, traditions, history, and lived experience contribute to the development of such a shared global ethic? Specifically, how can these values and principles address the following issues?

a. Peace and Security
b. Economic and Social Justice
c. Human Rights
d. Cultural Identity and Integrity
e. Ecological Well-being

2. Working Toward Just World Systems

Many transboundary problems and forces now surpass the competencies of national institutions and policy-makers. The question before the human community is not whether there will be a new world order. Rather, it is what kind of world order? On what values will it be based? Who will be its designers and decision-makers? Will it be a fragmented order of economic, ethnic, religious, and armed conflict? Will it be controlled by the economically and militarily powerful? Or will it be genuinely participatory order, governed by effective international law and based on equity and economic and ecological sustainability? Building upon the values and principles of your religious faith tradition, what recommendations would make in the following areas?

a. Global Civilization
Globalization has both positive and negative aspects. From the perspective of your religious values and principles, what should be the criteria for a true global civilization? For a global civic society? For global citizenship?

b. Global Structures and Systems
What global policies, systems, and instruments would be consistent with your values and principles? Specifically, how could the policies, systems, and instruments of your preferred world order address the above issues?

c. Local Initiatives
The local and global and deeply interrelated. What "bottom-up" or local initiatives can be combined with transnational initiatives to create policies and systems capable of fulfilling your desired world order?

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

d. Balancing Tension

The achievement of a more peaceful, equitable, and sustainable future depends upon balancing the following tensions. What insights can your religious tradition give on how to balance these areas of tension?

* individual good versus the common good
* rights versus responsibilities
* rights and needs or current versus future generations
* role of the private versus public (governance) sectors
* market forces versus government institutions
* local and national versus international sovereignties
* economic versus environmental needs
* long-term versus short-term objectives

e. Religious Resources

What particular expertise, institutions, networks, and other resources can your religious community utilize to participate in the building of a just world order?

* Educational systems
* Research institutions
* Institutions of higher learning
* Media and communication networks
* Publications and media materials
* Future studies and modelling of alternatives
* Community-based networks and programs
* Professional associations

3. Collaborating with United Nations and its Specialized Agencies

a. What do you judge to be the strengths and weaknesses of the current United Nations system in relationship to our ethical concern for a just world order?
b. What recommendations would you offer to make the United Nations and its specialized and affiliated agencies more effective instruments for a just world order? (Please specify program areas and agencies.)
c. In what ways have members and organizations of your religious community been cooperating with United Nations organizations and programs?
d. In what additional ways could your religious community collaborate with the UN and its agencies to make them more effective instruments for a just world order?

4. Developing a Multi-Religious Movement

a. In what ways can your religious community incorporate world systems thinking into educational program for its constituencies?
b. What kind of multi-religious initiatives do you recommend for advancing effective world systems that are more just, humane, and ecologically balanced?

A Jewish Response

RABBI MARC GOPIN

Rabbi Marc Gopin is the founder of Hesed International, dedicated to international poverty relief and Jewish values, and Asistant Director of the Washington Institute for Jewish Leadership and Values. He has also worked extensively on conflict resolution between Arabs and Jews.

The ideas that I bring to you are about religion in general; my examples may be Jewish. I believe that the major religions of the world need to recognize the dual role of religion in history. Religion has clearly been involved in some of the most dastardly deeds of history, in terms of warfare and violence. At the same time, it has promoted, in various ways, laws and cultural commitments that include the most celebrated values: compassion, love of strangers, suppression of unbridled ego and acquisitiveness, commitment to laws governing property, unilateral gestures of forgiveness, humility, acceptance of responsibility for past errors, drive for social justice, capacity to change through repentance, even the capacity to feel love for an enemy. These are all very powerful notions that go hand in hand with the unfortunate history of institutions that have been involved in violence. In many ways, each religion needs to take responsibility and ownership over that dual character, investigate it, and see how we can redemptively move that legacy into humane global governance, but with the honesty which that kind of investigation entails.

For example, in the Jewish tradition it is a very clear that there is a stark difference between the prophetic commitment to social justice and compassion and, say, the extermination laws in Deuteronomy. Any honest assessment of the system has to include both phenomena, and move beyond them towards a contemporary analysis of how to have this legacy move into a redemptive mission.

I believe also that each religion should be challenged to construct a conflict-resolution methodology that emanates out of its private theological system but evolves into universal shared actions. In other words, each religious human being should have the opportunity to

receive this from his/her authentic sources and deeply personal faith moments, but the actions would be shared universally with others.

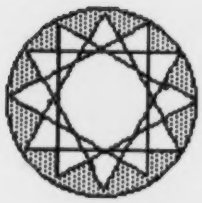
I believe that each religion should be challenged to develop its own international strategies for the empowerment of the poor, and out of this develop a common set of actions. One of the fundamental questions that I, along with many others, have struggled with, and I think a lot of us have trouble with, is a theology of the Other -- the Other who fundamentally is not and will never be a part of one's religious system. The question is how one spiritually relates and makes space in the world for the utterly other. In the Biblical discourse there is a prohibition 36 times against oppressing the stranger. It is the most frequently mentioned prohibition in the Bible -- the Bible shared by three major faiths. A "Ger" (the word in the Bible for stranger) theology will be a theology of compassion for those who fundamentally are not part of one's total ritual and faith system.

I have some other ideas that are a little more radical. I suggest sacralizing the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. What I mean by this is to analyze some of the universal documents that have been written in admittedly secular concepts, and to perceive their spiritual and religious roots, and to seek out the language of those documents that can then be translated into counterparts in one's religious experience.

In Jewish texts, for example, the word "right" is not really appropriate; instead there are *obligations* and *prohibitions*. However, as you look down the list of universal human rights for each right a counterpart can be found in Jewish law -- e.g. an obligation to affirm somebody's dignity, or a prohibition against embarrassing or humiliating another. So too in terms of the right to fair housing. And you can go on and on identifying the different ways in which the rights have clear counterparts in Jewish life and law. I suggest that we need to think about embracing the secular as it is expressed in the great human rights documents as a religious experience.

Finally, I want to mention moving slowly, but steadily and firmly, from a growth-economy consciousness to a selective-growth economy, that is one based on a sacralizing of how one spends one's money and on what products. Who made the products we use and under what circumstances? Religious people of the world would start considering whether the wood on their tables comes from a decent place or a place that has been raped of all of its resources and its indigenous people left to die. That is the power that each and every religious person has -- to examine how he/she relates to the world economically, and then to sacralize the experience, subject it to the highest spiritual values of his or her belief system.

These are some of the things that as a global religious community we will want to think about.



A Baha'i Response

JOHN HUDDLESTON

John Huddleston, a Baha'i, is the author of many works, including The Earth is But One Country, and The Search for a Just Society. Since 1963 he has worked with the International Monetary Fund, where he currently serves is Assistant Director in the Office of Managing Director.

I propose to address my comments primarily to the first question -- global ethics -- and talk quite specifically about the Baha'i position on the associated issues (peace, social and economic justice, human rights, cultural identity, and ecological balance). After that I should like to add a few random comments on some of the other questions: working towards a just world system, collaboration with the UN, and development of a multi-religious movement. Most of what I am going to talk about is drawn directly from the sayings of Baha'u'llah, the founder of our religion, and are not ideas that some ordinary Baha'i, such as myself, has dreamed up. They are the original teachings of the faith and therefore have the power to affect people the way that the words of Jesus or Mohammed do, rather than, say, the words of a bishop or a mullah, or a committee.

1. Global Ethics

Peace & Security

What should be said about the issue of peace and security? First, it is the Baha'i position that peace has to be regarded as the very highest priority. "The principle of the oneness of mankind [is] the pivot round which the teachings of Bahaullah revolve." Secondly, the Baha'i position is that we are all world citizens. "Let not a man glory in this, that he loves his country. Let him rather glory in this, that he loves his kind." Thirdly, the Baha'i position is one of presenting a vision of what might be: a vision of a future world society based on the spiritual principles of justice and peace, which would include such features as a democratic federal world government supported by a world police force.

Obviously, this vision is not going to happen tomorrow. It is recognized that there has to be a step by step approach to its achievement. The Baha'i community sees the first stage in this process as the ending of war, disarmament of the nations, and the establishment of collective security. These developments, in essence, could be achieved by the end of this century.

It is interesting to note in this context that the Baha'i teachings give a very important role to the United States in the process. America has a special spiritual destiny. That is something that may not be obvious when we read the newspapers every day. My view, in meditating upon this teaching, is that there is indeed much in America's cultural inheritance that makes it uniquely qualified for taking a lead in creating a global society. For instance, it's the first and most mature federal democracy, and this is clearly a model for future world government. Second, it is the melting pot of the world's cultures. There is no other country like it in this respect. Perhaps, most important of all, is its religious idealism, which has, for example, made enormous contributions to development of universal human rights, to the Hague Conventions, to the United Nations and so on.

Finally, there is a confidence in the future amongst Baha'is that I think is a very important factor in promoting action. It comes first from a clear sense of the purpose of life, which is to acquire the qualities of nobility. Second, it comes from a sense of history: that we are moving, metaphorically, from adolescence (when we have great physical power associated with scientific advance, but limited wisdom), toward adulthood (when we, at last, acquire wisdom and moral strength). Third, it comes from a balanced view of human nature: "In man there are two natures: his spiritual or higher nature and his material or lower nature. In one he approaches God. In the other he lives for the world alone."

Economic and Social Justice

Priority for peace implies priority for justice. There is a need to explicitly identify the two spiritual guiding principles which apply to economics: reward for service for the common good and avoidance of extremes of wealth and poverty. The following is a very brief list of some of the important Baha'i teachings on this subject:

1. A global economy to ensure efficiency in production of wealth for the benefit of all.
2. Encouragement of voluntary giving and service.
3. Profit sharing.
4. Universal compulsory education.
5. Equality of the sexes, with special emphasis on women's education.

Human Rights, Cultural Identity, and Integrity

There are two powerful teachings in the Baha'i faith elaborating on the universal religious principal of love for our fellow human beings that address the issues of human rights,

and cultural identity and integrity. First, Baha'i teachings call for consciously abolishing prejudice. It is particularly important to abolish religious prejudice. This requires more than simply being tolerant; it requires total respect and reverance for each and every founder of the great religions. "Beware...lest ye be tempted to make any distinction between any of the Manifestations of God." Second, we should positively appreciate the diversity of cultures as an enrichment of world civilization, which benefits us all equally. Baha'i teachings make specific reference to the beauty of cultures that have suffered oppression, and to the special contribution they will make to the spiritualization of humanity.

Ecological Wellbeing

There is in the Baha'i teachings a positive view of God's material Creation. "Nature in its essence is the embodiment of My Name, the Maker, the Creator...it is a dispensation of Providence ordained by the Ordainer, the All-Wise." Also, there is a holistic view of humankind and its relationship with the natural environment. Baha'i teachings give self respect and knowledge of our potential to be noble beings, and they simultaneously emphasize humility in the face of God and Creation. The Baha'i view of the purpose of life is to grow towards God and not to acquire material things beyond what is necessary to achieve that end.

2. Working Toward Just World Systems

Let me now say a few words about our second question: working towards just world systems. We were asked, "From the perspective of your religious values and principles, what should be the criteria for a true global civilization?" My answer, based on my understanding of the Baha'i perspective is, "A true global civilization would be dedicated totally to support and encouragement of every man, woman, and child on the face of the planet, in striving to achieve their full potential: physical, intellectual, and, above all, spiritual.

A second aspect of the question is what local initiatives can be undertaken to achieve world order? There are some 20,000 local Baha'i communities in just about every country of the world which are totally dedicated to the achievement of the unity of humankind and the establishment of world peace.

The third aspect is about insights concerning solution of existing tensions. One valuable concept that the Baha'i community can offer is the system of public discussion called "consultation." Unlike democratic debate which encourages division and conflict, Baha'i consultation focuses on achieving the right answers through unity. Modern conflict-resolution techniques are a step in the direction of Baha'i consultation, which also includes personal detachment, adherence to spiritual principle, conscious concern to have universal contribution to the discussion, and clear identification of the facts of the case.

3. Collaborating With the UN and Its Specialized Agencies

Now for our third question: What are the strengths and weaknesses of the UN, and what reforms are suggested? This is too vast a subject to be answered here, but some fundamental and immediate points from a Baha'i perspective are:

1. Holding a world convocation to discuss needs of the world now that the Cold War is over, as happened at the end of World Wars I and II.
2. Making arbitration of disputes between nations by the World Court compulsory.
3. Creating a standing world police force which is directly recruited and independently financed.

4. Developing a Multi-Religious Movement

Finally, there is the question, "How can we develop a multi-religious movement? An area where the religious communities of the world could most effectively work together for world peace, with a minimum of friction, would be in persuading the UN and all national governments to introduce compulsory studies in world citizenship in all schools. Universal religious teachings on human unities could be one basis for such studies. Perhaps such studies could be linked to a pass certificate which, in effect, could be a world citizenship passport.

—

A Christian Response

DAVID LITTLE

David Little, formerly Professor of Religious Studies at the University of Virginia, is currently Senior Scholar at the United States Institute of Peace, where he directs the Working Group on Religion, Ideology, and Peace. The group is conducting a five-year study of religion, nationalism, and intolerance, with special reference to the UN Declaration on the Elimination of Intolerance and Discrimination.

My own religious orientation is Presbyterian, U.S.A.; I am a layman in that church. But I am also at the U.S. Institute of Peace where I am working on religion and human rights. It is a combination of these two perspectives that I bring to my brief remarks.

I want to talk about religion, human rights, and world order. On December 10, 1948, 45 years ago last December, the UN General Assembly initiated what has rightfully been called the "Age of Rights," adopting without dissent, and with only eight abstentions, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The underlying assumption of the Declaration, and all of the many subsequent instruments that have been adopted since that time, is parsimoniously summarized in a phrase by a Mexican patriot named Benito Juarez. In Spanish the statement goes, "El respeto al derecho ajeno es la paz." "Respect for the rights of others is peace." In short, a fundamental condition of an orderly and peaceful world is the observance of human rights.

One of the foundations of human rights -- many would say the foundation of human rights -- is the principle of non-discrimination. It rests on the conviction that race, color, language, religion, gender, etc. are irrelevant and should not prejudice the exercise and enjoyment of human rights. The whole idea that human rights are human means that they must be assumed to be available to everyone and incumbent upon everyone regardless of race, gender, religion, etc. If the world needed to be reminded of the power and worth of that

principle, the threat of fascism, with its systematic policies of discrimination based on race, religion, etc., has provided and continues to provide a reminder in a very unforgettable way.

Of the so-called "big three" indications that most seriously threaten the principle of non-discrimination -- race, gender and religion -- religion in many ways remains to my judgement the most intractable and the most perplexing. In terms of world attention and concerted international effort to eradicate discrimination, more progress has been made on race and gender than has been made on religion. In the first place, international conventions or treaties against racial and gender discrimination have already been adopted. Recently at the Vienna World Conference on Human Rights the subject of gender was very, very significantly addressed. As a matter of fact, the Declaration of the Rights of Women came out of that conference.

By contrast, there is no convention against religious discrimination. There is at present only a declaration against discrimination (and intolerance) based on religion or belief that was finally adopted by the UN General Assembly in November 1981 after 18 arduous years of discussion and controversy. Incidentally, there will probably not be a convention against religious discrimination in the near future precisely because of the special sensitivity of religion in relation to these problems.

In the second place, the language in the international document concerning freedom of religion and freedom from religious discrimination is much more inconsistent than the language is in regard to gender or race. For example, Article 18 of the Universal Declaration protects freedom to change one's religion whereas that protection is explicitly left out of the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights and the Declaration Against Intolerance. The discrepancy is clearly there because of pressure from Islamic governments who argue that Muslims, by renouncing Islam, would be committing a crime that is punishable by death. However, to add to the confusion, the Declaration Against Intolerance, having excluded the language regarding the right to change one's religion, then goes on to guarantee that the wording of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights -- which includes the right to change one's religion -- is fully binding. We are left with a great deal of inconsistency in the international documents about the freedom of religion.

In the third place, discrimination justified in the name of religion is particularly acute, as for example in Islamic countries, where, in accord with *shari'a* only Muslims may hold high public office. Initially, such infringements of the principle of non-discrimination are frequently justified by certain language that exists in the international documents allowing limitations on the exercise of religion in the name of public order, public health, morals, and so on. This elastic language, which is also found in the document, opens the door for a good deal of interpretation, if not subversion, in terms of the international guarantee.

We ought also to emphasize that in many parts of the world there continue to be widespread and appalling violations of the protection of religious freedom and the prohibition against religious discrimination. But I also want to emphasize I don't think the number of violations in regard to religion are probably any greater than they are for gender or race.

In light of the complexities and perplexities which surround the international discussion of freedom of religion and protection against religious discrimination, and in the interest of helping to construct a new global strategy, I believe and wish to suggest that we need much more careful, systematic, and extended reflection on the question of religion and human rights. There is some assistance within the United Nations. There is, for example, a special rapporteur on religious freedom, an individual by the name of Dr. Amore, who reports on the UN Committee on Human Rights which, as you know, is supposed to enforce the international covenant on civil and political rights. But that office is not very old and is under-funded and understaffed by all accounts.

It is also true that the religious communities need to show a good deal more sustained and systematic attention to these subjects of religious freedom and protection against religious discrimination. There is sporadic attention among religious communities to these questions. There isn't the kind of sustained concern that I believe a religious body should begin to exert in taking up the question, "How compatible is our tradition with human rights interpretation and human rights requirements?"

I'm happy to report that there are a few useful activities beginning to take place that I want to call to your attention. There's going to be a world survey of religious freedom funded by the Pew Charitable Trust. It will begin to issue reports on practices on religious freedom of some fifty governments around the world. That should help focus attention with respect to governments, and also, I would hope, with respect to religious communities. The Religion and Human Rights Project in New York City will be doing a number of studies on this general question. Finally, there is our own series of studies at the U.S. Institute of Peace on religion, nationalism, and intolerance, in which we call attention, through extended study, to this problem in selected areas of the world.

My summary comment is that we need much more attention to this subject of religion and human rights.

An Islamic Response

SERIF MARDIN

Serif Mardin is Professor and Chair of Islamic Studies at the School of International Service, American University, and the author of Religion and Social Change in Modern Turkey.

Thank you very much for the opportunity to say something about the religion that is most misunderstood in the world today, namely Islam. If I were to title my little talk, I would call it "Preliminary Steps for an Understanding of Islam." I think this misunderstanding is part of a general mistake in our approach to religion, in the sense that religion is not only a theological statement but has historical dynamics that one has to take into account, and this historical dynamic involves today's Muslims as well as an abstracted Islam. To understand Islam without understanding Muslims is no understanding.

Religion is one of the areas where we often believe we can link arms in celebrating a new global culture, a stage we have finally reached where we can talk to one another. What is meant by a religion in this context is a kind of universal brotherhood, sisterhood, a common denominator of goodness, a melioristic recipe for bonding, a school of a fraternal union. In spite of its edifying objectives, in a number of instances this approach has led to subsequent disenchantment because the reality of religion subsumes a set of internal tensions. In all religions it is the tension between the real and the ideal, the expectations and the achievements, that gives us the most profound understanding of its essence.

Islam has no church; every Muslim is individually responsible for searching for the Muslim ideal, and in this sense, the tension between the real and the ideal is a key item in the life of Muslims. A somewhat unreflexive view of Islam has been the way in which, with the best of intentions, others have approached Islam. One element of Islam in the world, the revelation of the prophet Mohammed, is permeated by a discourse on ethics, on the good, and on communal goals. In this sense, the venue into Islam reaching to it through its moral ideal

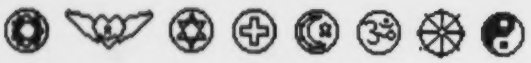
is commendable. Yet much of the image of Islam projected in the west is that of the sword-swinging Ayatollah, the fundamentalist on the march. The damage that this picture has brought to Islam is considerable. I would venture that concentrating on the first, unreflexive view of Islam, as simply a store of goodness, is possible even a more dangerous venue into the understanding of Islam than that of the violent fundamentalist.

In fact, were there a more inquiring approach to the comprehension of Islam, it would provide a more realistic view of the character of this religion, and would not only mitigate against misunderstanding but lead to a realization of the ways in which the ethical command of Islam are not static entities, but what I would call "emergents." What I mean by this is that the history of Islam is the history of tension between the ideals posited by the Qur'an and the ability of the Muslims to realize them.

Every historical period in Islam has given us a different synthesis of Islamic commands because these commands tend to be carried out under different ambient circumstances. At one time, Muslims were overwhelmed by the dry-as-dust commentaries of the Orthodox jurists. Islamics mysticism came to their rescue, and brought life back into their religion. At another time, mysticism was taken over by irresponsible manipulators, and orthodoxy was brought to correct the situation. Modern Islam has once more to be seen, by those who would like to extend their hand to Muslims, not as the power of the word itself, but as the struggle of Muslims to establish the rule of the word in the historical circumstances of our own time -- circumstances which are very different from those of the seventh century when Islam was born. Just as with other religions, the history of the last two centuries has been a history of enormous external changes with which Muslims have had to grapple. They have had to combat imperialism and colonialism to decide what institutions they will allow to be copied from industrial societies and what practices will be accepted from societies where the interpenetration of religion and social institution is not as complete as it is in Islam.

Yet the old institutions have had some viability. In Islamic society, for instance, it is through the moral command of religious leaders that despots are challenged. This Islamic solution to the problem of just rule seems to have lived long enough in historical memory of Muslims to give the needed impetus for the revolution in Iran. But it was modernity that enabled the Iranian clerics to organize a system in which they challenged the ruler. When one reconstitutes these elements, the reasons for the victory of the Iranian clerics becomes more apparent: tradition is still useful for modern Muslims and Islam can serve as a theory of justified rebellion. This is an example of Islam as an "emergent." But we are not at the end of that dialectical movement: the link between the clerics as advocates and the people as complainants has now been severed, the Ayatollahs are the new rulers, but the complainants

BEST COPY AVAILABLE



may well continue the traditional pattern of complaining by eventually beginning to complain against their new rulers, the clerics.

The method which I have used here and which attempts to find out what we might call the inner dynamic of a religion -- how it works out and what this means for Islam -- is certainly more healthy for understanding Islam than to see it as a simple repository of ethical values. It is such an approach that will have the greatest chance of establishing the bridges we desire.

A Hindu Response

ANAND MOHAN

Anand Mohan is a Professor of Politics and Philosophy at Queens College of the City University of New York, and an ordained Hindu minister. He currently serves as the Secretary-Treasurer of the Council of Hindu Temples of North america, and a member of the Executive Committee of the U.S. Chapter of the World Conference on Religion and Peace.

Let me express at the outset my hope that we, as adherents of several faiths, will be able to influence world affairs -- an opportunity we have not had for almost three hundred years. And I say three hundred years, because I go back to Hugo Grotius, whose great work, *De Jure Belli ac Pacis*, appeared in 1625, during the course of the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648), which ended with the Treaty of Westphalia and the establishment of the modern state system. Grotius' *magnum opus, On the Law of War and Peace*, was written partly in response to the terrible atrocities committed during those hostilities by the warring leagues of Catholic and Protestant princes.

Prior to the advent of Grotius, both the civilians and the canonists of the Middle Ages came to identify natural law with right and equity, and conceived human and divine law to be all of a piece. Imagined to be as permanent and as unchangeable as anything in physical nature, natural law was perceived, as Justice Holmes said in one of his celebrated opinions, as a "brooding omnipresence in the sky." Literally all law was felt to be eternally valid and in some degree sacred, as the providence of God was conceived to be a universally present force which touched human lives.

Grotius freed natural law from its ancient alliance with theology and, developing a modern, secularized natural law, emerged as the father of international law. Combining the

legal principles derived from the fundamentals of the law of nature with the practical rules created by the positive, customary practices, he paved the way for future writers on international law. No longer above the nations, or even embodying the common elements in all national legal systems, international law evolved as a law between nations. And, although ultimately based on the natural-law right of nations to regulate their intercourse with each other, international law today has become positive or conventional law, established by consent among nations, and its specific provisions derive their binding force solely from the agreement of the nations involved. The Charter of the United Nations is itself a supreme example of this development.

During the past half a century, we have lived under the illusion that a conception of world order, freed from all religious influences and moral compulsions, and rooted solely in the common agreement of nations for the exercise of their sovereign will, would somehow be more conducive to the maintenance of international peace and security. The wheel has turned full circle, and we are being forced to consider if a blunder of Himalayan proportions has not been committed in entertaining this illusion. And it is at this juncture, therefore, that I believe we should seize the opportunity, as men and women of religious conviction, to reassert the primacy of spirit in the ordering of the world.

The United Nations has failed in its central purpose, namely, the maintenance of peace and security, because of its own internal contradictions. The Charter pays lip sympathy to the principle of the sovereign equality of nations large and small, and, in stark violation of this principle, which has been the very cornerstone of international law for three centuries, elevates the Security Council as the apotheosis, not of the rule of law, but as the rule of power without law, scruple, or principle. Not only does the Charter proclaim that a handful of Great Powers are more equal than all the others; it legitimizes the principle that they are absolutely above the law. These Great Powers are under no obligation to maintain international peace and security; they have the unquestioned prerogative of decide when and how and if at all peace and security are to be maintained. This is positivism with a vengeance.

All of us at this table, no matter what faith we belong to, would assert that the first and foremost condition for civilized life, for humane living, is the prevalence of peace. None of the problems and issues that my predecessors on this panel have drawn our attention to -- the ecological problem, the demographic problem, the question of social and economic development, or the issue of human rights -- can be addressed vigorously or adequately in the absence of peace and tranquility. Only if the Security Council is reorganized to reflect, not the calculus of unprincipled power, but the obligations of law, the demands of equity, and the ethical imperatives of a global community can genuine peace be maintained.

The truth is that Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter is largely a dead letter. It embodies the worldview of the nineteenth century, the principle of the balance of power, the dictates of national interest, and the conduct of hegemonic politics. It is concerned with an undefined and obsolete conception of aggression, and does not address the circumstances and situations which cause the disorders and dysfunction of the international system. This system is a system of sovereign states, which we glibly and euphemistically refer to as constituting the international community, but which is actually a conglomeration of discrete and independent entities coexisting uneasily in an anarchical world society. We are now on the eve of the fiftieth anniversary of the signing of the UN Charter. Therefore, when we talk about the revision to the UN Charter, or the remaking of the United Nations, or fashioning a new world order, we should, as upholders of religious traditions, insist upon respect for the root principles of religion.

In my own religion, Hinduism, the concept of *dharma*, protean as it might appear to be through the passage of millennial time, is central to our worldview. *Dharma* literally means "that cosmic principle which maintains and protects the Earth. "All beings are subject to *dharma*, and no one can claim immunity from its operation. This fundamental, universal principle is inviolable, and all transgressors of this higher, moral law, which is not necessarily antithetical to right reason, must be held accountable for their conduct.

The idea of the unbridled exercise of illimitable power as the ultimate arbiter of international affairs must be banished. This notion is also in perfect accord with the religious traditions of Western civilization, which have always maintained that everyone is under the law, and no one is above it. We recall the fact that the Jewish kings of old were anointed by the prophet, as a reminder that even the monarch is under the law. And that principle has come down to us in modern times through Christian legal and political theory. In the Islamic tradition, too, sovereignty rests with Allah, and not with any denizens who exercise terrestrial authority.

I would, therefore, conclude by reiterating simply and firmly that we have got to restore this notion that everyone, king or commoner, small power or great, all are under the subjection of the law. Unless we get back to this root principle of the religious traditions of all nations, peace and security will not reign on earth.

A Sufi Response

ABDUL AZIZ SAID

Abdul Aziz Said, a Sufi, is the senior ranking Professor of International Relations at American University's School of International Service, where he also serves as Director of Peace and Conflict Studies. He is the co-author of Concepts of International Politics, *and editor of* Human Rights and World Order, *and of* Ethnicity and U.S. Foreign Policy.

My heart is capable of every form:
A Cluster for the monk, a fane for idols.
A pasture for gazelles, the pilgrim's Ka 'ba
The Tables of the Torah, the Koran.
Love is the faith I hold: Whenever I return.

Ibn Arabi

I come from 37 years of experience as an academician that has tried to combine theory and practice. My experience has led me to think that we have to reconceptualize, rethink, refeel global politics. We are living with old stories that will not do it and we do not have a new story to tell. And we are here together working on putting together the new story.

As I look for the new story, there are certain strands that have been and are valuable, all under an umbrella I call "reinvestment of the sacred." For me this includes Ibn Arabi when he says "my heart is capable of many forms . . . and love is the faith that I hold wherever I go." That is one strand that comes to me.

Another strand of the story is from Plato, who said that while we might not be able to agree with each other, if we have open and honest conversation, we will be able to empathize with each other and the human predicament, because human life is so similar in its deeper significance and issues whatever our society and culture.

There is increasing concern about the religious fundamentalism in the Islamic world. But there is also a type of political fundamentalism in the dominant western culture, with its engineering, mechanistic, isolated approach to problem solving. Fundamentalism is a kind of pathology of culture that arises when a group takes part of the basic tenets of a tradition and, either under the pressure of insecurity (in the case of Muslims), or pursuit of hegemony (in the case of the west), uses it to either secure themselves by sealing off others, or to maintain dominance.

In all conflict situations, people under stress react by reducing their own beliefs to a small workable subset in order to fight and protect themselves. But this closes off their ability to hear, or to communicate. A return to the larger frame of the culture and its human values, always present if sought for, can open up the space for understanding, cooperation, or at the very least, deeper respect. This is the essence of spirituality.

Although the terms religion and spirituality are often used somewhat interchangeably, it is important to recognize the distinction between them. The term religion implies an institutional framework within which a specific theology or doctrine is advocated and pursued, usually among a community of like-minded believers. Spirituality, on the other hand, transcends the normal parameters of organized religion, suggesting a broader scope of human involvement that emanates from the inner essence of a being. At the level of the individual, it often implies action borne of a faith commitment which may or may not be informed or circumscribed by allegiance to a particular religious tradition.

All cultures, even the most materialistic, find their fundamental guiding values and goal commitments in some sort of religious tradition that purports to summarize what has been learned in the deep inner experience of the group over time. These diverse religious traditions -- ancient and modern; primitive and sophisticated; Eastern and Western -- have long been held to be basically antagonistic to one another.

In more recent times, an important basis for reconciliation has emerged. Comparative examination of the rich variety of religious traditions in human history has led to an important conclusion. The religious beliefs and practices of all cultures tend to fall into two parts: (a) an *exoteric* or public version, and (b) an *esoteric*, spiritual version. Although the many exoteric versions differ markedly one from another, the esoteric versions appear to be essentially the same for all religious traditions, suggesting that all these traditions are rooted in the same kind of deep, inner experience.

Politics is spiritual because our public life reflects our social values. Politics is a process of maximizing deeply held convictions about values. The reconnection of politics to our best values is now the most important tool of political life. The dominant Western view

of politics as an objective reality does little to explain the present global system. It is an outlook that delegitimizes values and culture. Politics devoid of values becomes reduced to brokerage of destructive power. The dominant view of world politics sees values and culture as restraints; it assumes that values and culture are not based on human needs, and that values and culture are easily changed. Only institutions, processes, and events are important.

In contrast to this dominant view, I assert that:

1. Politics is a cultural activity, and world politics is cultural communication in disguise.
2. All persons' views of reality are deeply and unconsciously affected by "their" culture.
3. No objective reality can be known except from a particular cultural point of view.

Culture is that complex whole which includes beliefs, patterns of behavior, and values. Every culture operates with an (usually unconscious) epistmology, which predisposes its followers to emphasize certain kinds of perception, learning, and action, and ignore others. Individuals are hypnotized from infancy on to perceive the world in accordance with suggestions absorbed from the surrounding culture.

People from cultures that embody differing epistemologies will see reality differently. "The Sun's light when he unfolds it," wrote William Blake, "Depends on the organ that beholds it" (*Auguries of Innocence*). Epistemology is the sieve through which we see reality, to decide which realities are more real than others.

In order to impose some kind of order on our understanding of world politics, the study of international relations has insisted that in spite of the differences which characterize cultures, the relationships of actors can be conceptualized by certain common norms and attitudes -- ignoring the broad spectrum of cultures. The study of international relations has concentrated on discovering the common denominators of relations among which war and peace could emerge. The reductionist emphasis on common denominators has often obscured the multifaceted nature of the phenomenon of politics.

But the facts are quite different. Although the absence of universally held norms compels each actor to assert its interest in terms of similar demands, the character of those demands arises from a specific socio-political culture. Theories of international relations have concentrated on the "how" of conflict resolution, but avoided understanding the "why" of conflict. In the world arena -- an environment characterized by an absence of consensus and no enforcement machinery -- how states and groups are left to resolve their differences is limited only by resources and moral reservation.

The recognition that politics is essentially an ascriptive phenomenon -- that it is culture specific, and that values and goals which actors seek to maximize are a reflection of cultural

differences -- makes us attentive to these differences and less likely to believe that "they" think precisely a "we" do. The pursuit of common denominators has explained similarities, not differences among political actors. It is the differences with which ascriptive politics is primarily concerned and by which the calculations of war and peace ultimately are determined.

The first truly global political community has begun to emerge around us. What we in the international relations community called the inter-penetration of states in recent decades has probably evolved so far as to be irreversible, short of global catastrophe. We have moved from a humanity which lived its collective life as fragments of the whole, into a new context of humanity as a whole.

In fact it is no longer accurate to speak of the West as sharply distinct from the East, or even to speak of the North as opposed to the South. These distinctions are more appropriate as generalizations for popular mythology than as descriptions of actual international relations.

If we in the field of international relations have been guilty of a single error during recent years, it has been to overemphasize the traditional rituals of the world political game, and to underestimate the impact of the emergence of the first global civilization. Today's emerging global civilization has a far larger relative sway than Rome, the most extensive of its predecessors. For unlike Rome -- which knew only dimly of the civilizations of China and India, and nothing at all of American Indian civilizations in the Western hemisphere -- the global culture now coalescing excludes no one. Desert Bedouins and the remotest jungle villages are coming to feel the grip and penetrating power of the first planetary culture.

The objective situation of world politics, the circumstances and underlying forces have changed, but so too has the subjective situation -- the frame of reference or context in which events are interpreted. The biggest changes have been in values and ideas, not in underlying forces. We are leaving a world in which participants in international relations could play their roles on the world stage without the self-conscious awareness that they were playing a role. We have entered a world in which the actors, groups, and states are concerned with how their actions will affect the agenda of world politics.

The new global system of the Nineties is a pluralistic one with a crude but vital form of egalitarianism, as contrasted with the essentially European-rooted, aristocratic state system it is replacing. Actors will approach each other differently than they used to: Whereas heretofore they pursued their destinies and resolved their conflicts within a rigid and hierarchical social system, they will increasingly function within a pluralistic and egalitarian social system. Few of the conflicts will have ideological roots. Most will derive from clashes of communal identity, whether on the basis of race, ethnicity, nationality, or religion. These conflicts are proving to be intractible to the best efforts of dominant methods of conflict resolution.

Traditional techniques of conflict resolution using mechanistic, problem-solving methods, including the often manipulative signaling of positions, are suitable for dealing with conflicts that relate to tangible material interests, for which it is usually possible to forge some sort of compromise. In contrast, non-material, identity-based conflicts are often not well understood to diplomats accustomed to operating in a Western, state-centered, culturally homogenous system. In the new international environment, viable conflict resolution requires an understanding of the beliefs, values, and behavior of conflicting parties.

The work of reconceptualizing international relations is well under way. The basic premises of the emerging global system are different from those that underlie the dominant Western-rooted international system. One such basic premise is that there is something in traditional cultures that is worth preserving. This premise places a great deal more emphasis on *humane* values. Fritz Schumacher, in *A Guide for the Perplexed*, emphasized the principle of *adequatio*: our thinking has to be adequate to the nature of the problem. Adequate thinking itself has to be diverse and symbiotic, pointing to cultural eclecticism. We must draw on all human cultural resources; we cannot afford to neglect any of them.

World events and trends will continue to expose the precariousness of international relations based on separateness in an increasingly interconnected and interdependent world. The premises on which the traditional doctrine of statecraft were founded have been largely invalidated, simply because the world, which gave rise to them, no longer exists. Moving beyond such premises will require basic reformulations of the dominant Western perspective to incorporate traditional cultures. Does this mean, then, that the lessons of realism, geopolitics, and power politics, are useless? Perhaps this is exactly the case.

The world community is now threatened by some of the very mechanisms that conventional wisdom suggests served us well in the past. Until recently, the dual standard of morality that opened within and among groups may have served a positive value. The competition among states may have served as a mechanism for mediating relationships and may have formed a frame of reference for humanity, which lived its collective life as fragments of the whole. As long as we lived in a 'flat" world that appeared infinite, groups in conflict could move on whenever they lost out in some competitive encounter over states, resources, or power. This competitive orientation served the collective function of dispersing humanity throughout the world. However, the competitive mechanism cannot serve us well in a finite, spherical, shrinking world. The competitive model of international relations -- a model in which each nation, by pursuing its private goals was contributing to the political market place of nations -- is no longer viable.

The question arises, "How should we deal with the first truly global civilization?" The thought forms we predominantly use in academia, in governments and courts of law, in the

press, and in social planning are modelled on Aristotelian logic. What we need instead are thought forms that are structured in the same way that our world is structured.

And what sort of structure is that? Take a look at one of those charts of the body's metabolic pathways that are tacked up on the walls of biochemistry labs. What you see is interconnected, interdependent chemical reactions whose products all feed back upon each other -- a homeostatic circuit. There are no straight lines, and to think in terms of "causes" and "effects" makes sense only if we cut out a portion of a circuit and treat it as though it were a whole entity.

We complicate problems of international relations due to our inability to perceive context and long-range consequences. Our information is always incomplete; natural, biological systems are always more complex and circuitous than our ideas about them. Using linear, cause-and-effect thinking to map out the world that is an interconnected, interdependent network of feedback circuits inevitably leads to inappropriate actions that return to plague the inventors.

The physiology of the human body, the complexities of family life, the network of global trade, and the infinitely varied and delicate interdependencies of the totality of life on earth, are alike in structure. There exists in Buddist mythology something called "Indra's net:" an immense, multiply-interconnected latticework of jewels each of which reflects all the others at once -- what we now call a hologram. This is a very accurate description of how our world really is.

In Darwin's theory of evolution, the unit that evolves is the organism or species. In Bateson's theory the unit that evolves is organism-plus-environment. The horse does not evolve, the grass does not evolve; rather the system horse-plus-grass co-evolves.

We try to maximize U.S. "interest" and then wonder why our policies backfire or produce the opposite effect. It is because we use a wrong unit of analysis. A correct unit is nation-plus-environment, interest-group-plus environment.

The equivalent (epistemologically false) unit of analysis at the level of daily life is the individual "me" or "ego." Perhaps the main factor that gave rise to the dilemmas of modern civilization was the myth of body/mind dualism, matter/spirit dualism, and the associated concept of the person as an individual surrounded by skin, with distinct inside and outside.

In other civilizations, "progress" was associated more with perfection of the human soul within the wholeness of society and the universe. Viable units of evolution are always expressed in terms that involve wholeness, context, community. Self-other, me-environment,

yield the true self of Jungian psychology or of the various mystical traditions in Vedantism, Kabbalah, Buddhism, and Suffism schools of mystical training.

The world community is now threatened by the very mechanisms which, in the past, have served an evolutionary purpose, and, because humans did not until recently possess the technology to render their environment lethal, were at least evolutionarily tolerable. But now we have run out of room. The competitive mechanisms that are still taught as the subject matter of international relations cannot serve us well in a finite, spehrical, homeostatically interconnected world. We have moved into a new context for humanity as a whole. We need to be committed to a world which includes everyone. This idea is alien or at best seems like a pipe dream to present-day national leaders who continue to look at the world in terms of a competitive epistemology. Whether this idea is regarded as "impossible" or not is a matter of epistemology. We know it is possible in practice because that is the way Earth's biosphere has been functioning for some hundreds of years.

Just as we find that the naive materialism of the post-Renaissance centuries is not working in the long run, things have begun to change in the direction of a more inclusive epistemelogy. Now, towards the end of the twentieth century, we are "discovering" that the deeper we delve into the fundamentals of science, the closer we are to the fundamentals of many of the traditional mysticisms. We are now coming to recognize the reality of the sacred.

Here I am defining "the sacred" as any process that explicitly links us back to the largest possible context to which we belong. Among the Sufis, who represent the mystical tradition of Islam, the most important daily practice or litany is called the *zikr*, which means "remembrance." The role of the prophet (in us all) is then not the simple-minded notion of someone who can foretell the future, but rather someone who reminds us of what has always been there, thus rejuvenating the world.

Gregory Bateson, when once asked to define "sacrament," said, "The recognition of the pattern which connects." "Buddha" translates literally as "the one who woke up," and refers not just to a historical personage but also to any human being in a state of mind of full awareness, i.e. a person dedicated to the support of the total patterning and harmony of our world.

Re-investment of the sacred means the humanizing of the sacred. It also refers to the consecration of the human, the recognition that sacred activity is not separate from immediate, personal, and interpersonal experience. Our being together on this planet becomes, then, a sacred day-to-day reality, and what we call God becomes human. This seemingly impossible process of transformation has already begun, though it is often hard to see the signs. The signs are waiting to be created by us here, today.

DISCUSSION

Patricia Mische

Let me open the discussion with a question about, and then an example of, how religions can affect the direction of a new world order. First a question. What should be the role of *inner* governance in global governance? Can the political-structures approach to governance suffice to bring a more humane world order? Or does a more humane world order also require inner moral and spiritual foundations, i.e., laws in the hearts and minds of people? Conversely, can inner governance suffice without the support or reinforcement of humane political structures, or a global polity? Should we attempt to bring the inner and outer forms of governance together? If so, *how*?

Second, let me share an example of the potential interaction of world religions and global polities. The World Conference on Religion and Peace (WCRP), in collaboration with representatives of UN agencies, is developing ethical criteria for humanitarian intervention. When, and under what conditions, should humanitarian intervention be undertaken? What ethics and rules should govern humanitarian intervention? Humanitarian intervention is a new area in global policy development. It encroaches on the principle of national sovereignty that has been enshrined in international law. Should states be allowed to intervene in the affairs of other states to safeguard human rights or deliver famine-relief? If so, when is it appropriate to do so? When is it inappropriate? Should the use of force be allowed? If so, when, under what conditions? This is an uncharted area in relationships between states.

This project brings together the realm of ethics and the realm of "realpolitik" as played out in the United Nations. It may affect future directions in the policies and operations of the UN. So when we grapple with questions about the relationship of religion and global governance, we are not only speaking theoretically; we are at the cutting edge of global politics and policy development.

David Cammack

I am an Episcopalian, interested in both religion and politics. I liked very much, Dr. Said, a couple phrases of yours, e.g., "re-investment of the sacred," and what you said about being in a world that is involved in a conflict of separate stories. You said that we need a new story. I think that there is a lot to that. I am particularly interested, from the little I know about the Baha'i faith, in what it says about understanding all the different stories. I would like to hear further from you, Dr. Huddleston and Dr. Said, on that.

John Huddleston

If I understand the question correctly, I believe that you are referring to the Baha'i concept of the unity of religions -- that all religions are essentially one, that they have the same universal values concerning our relationship with God, with fellow human beings, and with the Creation as a whole. In the fundamental things of life, religions are in unity. There are two aspects of religion which can cause apparent division. First, religious institutions often become corrupted over time and lose sight of the original teachings of their Founders. For example, apartheid was sanctioned by Christians. They sincerely believed this terrible philosophy was in accord with the Bible. Second, religions have appeared at different times in history and adapted general principles to the conditions of their time. Let me give an example of that. All religions advocate universal love for our fellow human beings. And yet prejudice has become a major issue in our own times as the world becomes a single society and people of different backgrounds intermix and stumble over one another. We have not been prepared for this and often fear or despise those who are different from ourselves. There is a need to consciously confront our prejudices and to develop a conscious appreciation of diversity. We can do this if we go back to the roots of our religion and find again our basic universals. The Baha'i teachings specifically mention conscious abolition of prejudice and appreciation of cultural diversity as essential to our spiritual well being.

Abdul Aziz Said

The perspective you heard me refer to comes from an attempt to hook together vision and faith. We see in the Middle East that an old order of conflict is collapsing before there is a vision of a new order to replace it. If we don't attend to that, we will continue to experience what is occurring in Eastern Europe -- in the former Yugoslavia and in the former Soviet Union. We ought to be looking at how to get a common vision out of a multiplicity of visions. How can we arrive at unity from the perspective of diversity? How can we do that? We don't have a model of that. In response to Pat Mische's question about achieving the external without the internal, from my perspective, we can't. From my perspective, internal disarmament has to occur simultaneously with external disarmament.

Paul Williams, Christian Children's Fund

I heard something that I find to be very troubling and I want to test it to see if I heard it correctly. That was the statement of Mr. Huddleston that the United States of America has a unique spiritual destiny that makes it uniquely equipped to provide leadership in the world today. This has a nice ring to it and we know that it comes out of the Puritan tradition, the Mayflower Compact, with its image of "a city set on a hill," a "light to the world." We have grown up with that. But, as Reinhold Niebuhr once pointed out, the events of history have

sometimes refuted, rather cruelly, the pretention to virtue and innocence that has sometimes gone into that mythology. Like Don Quixote going off to fight the battles of the Enlightenment, it is not that someone is doing something evil, but that a good person does not realize that there is a tragic flaw in his own self and that his castles are windmills, and his own armor is rusty, and his own horse is just a nag. He doesn't see it. So the ironic factor is that so many good people, with good intentions, good motives, who believe that they are uniquely equipped to lead because they have some spiritual preeminence, do some very sad things. So I prefer what the Rabbi said about the need for repentance. The essence of genuine religion includes a self-critical element which drives this ultra-form of religion into something deeper -- into the spiritual dimension, into the *dharma*, into the stories and mythology that unite us. I find the idea that America has a certain pre-eminence because of its spiritual superiority to be very troubling. I may be pushing this too far.

Anonymous comment

The other troubling part of this is that the United States continues on the route of a huge consumption of resources and I didn't hear any of you talk about the need to think in terms of a sustainable consumption of resources and an equitable distribution of resources. This is another damaging part of the way the U.S. is going in the wrong direction rather than in the right direction. I would like a comment on this.

John Huddleston

Let me make a couple points of clarification. First, I am from the United Kingdom. Secondly, the Baha'i faith is not a U.S. religion. I should make it clear that what I am talking about is a spiritual inheritance in the real sense. This should not be confused with the material inheritance. I am not talking about power; I am not talking about the economy; I am not talking about spiritual arrogance; I am not talking about the Puritan tradition.

To give you a sense of what I am talking about, let me mention that in the Baha'i teachings about America there is an emphasis on spiritual leadership coming from those who have suffered, specifically Afro-Americans and Native Americans. Suffering gives them insights which those who have not suffered do not have. A part of America's inheritance is having people from all over the world with a diversity of experience. The suffering of some of these people can provide spiritual inspiration for this country so that it can fulfill its spiritual destiny. But it may choose to ignore them and pursue material gain. Then it will fail its destiny. There is a choice. The reason I said that was to provoke a reaction. We have a very negative view of ourselves and I don't believe that is a formula for creating a better society. We have a cynical view of ourselves, and such a view eventually becomes a cop-out because it means that we don't really believe that anything better can be created. As a non-American

I say that this great country has tremendous potential, as demonstrated in its history, to humbly give spiritual leadership in creating a much better global society.

Anand Mohan

I would like to say it is generally true that the Hindu does not view anything dichotomously. Hence, I feel that the two points of view just expressed are not in any necessary opposition to each other. It is indeed true that we hear, perhaps all too frequently, that America enjoys a certain spiritual pre-eminence because of its superior Christian morality. On the other hand, the mere fact that we are all gathered here at this podium from different religious traditions is itself testimony to the great spirit of tolerance and accommodation and understanding that exists in American society, and which we can discern in few other societies in the world. I think we should be proud of ourselves for this and, at the same time, cultivate a becoming modesty and humility, and keep ourselves open to the influences of the other great religious traditions of the world, for the common good of all humankind.

Nadia Suad, World Bank, (retired)

I think that we lack the vocabulary, we lack the language, that would allow us to create a new vision of global relationship. In the enumeration of human rights, one of the most fundamental rights is religious freedom, a freedom to be left alone. The role of the state is to defend this right to be left alone. Then we believe in the pursuit of happiness. I will pursue *my* happiness. The belief is that my happiness contributes to the general good which is the sum of the happiness of individuals. We haven't stopped really to think in terms of our relationships. My right to self-determination is also compoundable to the right of self-determination of states. This idea of self-determination atomizes the society and atomizes us as individuals and atomizes states. There is no general framework of community or common good. We think in these individualistic terms. Our economics are based on that. If everyone would strive for his own happiness, we would all be happy. My second question is that I wonder whether my friend Abdul Aziz Said may be accusing the IMF of being fundamentalist? [Laughter]

Christopher Currie, World Federalist Association

One of the things that we keep running into, almost like a stone wall, is national sovereignty . . . . But national sovereignty is beginning to disintegrate as an effective ideology. . . . In reading the Old and New Testaments one can find a whole treasure trove of observations and commandments that transcend . . . nationalism and national sovereignty. To the extent that the world's religions can help to make nationalism less holy and sacred, that

would greatly help the rest of us . . . . The problem is that we can't get over the ideological stone wall.

Jim O'Dea, Amnesty International

Amnesty International is, in a sense, a revelation of the sacred through a rather secular organization in the form of conscience. Amnesty International has studied acts of conscience around the globe. This wonderful mystery appears in the Amnesty process, so that whatever the other's ideology, or religion or tribal affiliation, I can see through those veils and say this is conscience, and likewise back. We have some kind of global transparency in the concept of conscience in that we recognize each other and we are at one with each other. My question is, do we all share conscience and, in conscience, that activator of a common value base that expresses itself in actions? Do we need to explore this more?

Corinne McLaughlin

I want to respond to the question of spiritual destiny by remembering that each nation . . . . I would challenge people from different countries to explore the founding of your country, and publicly herald the spiritual dimensions of it. I think that it would reveal something very powerful and inspiring. . . . I would like this explored more.

Marc Gopin

[In response to Nadia Saad, above]

I would like to respond to what was said about spirituality in the relationship between the individual and community, suggesting that we come from an atomized world. You suggest that the ideal of individual rights is a very alienating process. This is a very important question and is the basis for a great deal of communitarian thinking. But we don't want to turn our back either, from a spiritual point of view, on the ideals of the individual as a sacred being as opposed to being just part of an entity that can and will be sacrificed to a sacred monarch, or whatever. That is one of the tragedies of many societies. I think of the difference between the medieval religious world or ancient cultures where individuals are seen only as part of a community and death by capital punishment is incidental, versus the later prophetic celebrations of the poorest of the poor and the image of God in that one human being. And I thank God that since the beginning of the modern era, liberalism has embraced the individual and argued for the individual rights of the laborer, etc. So, I think we need some kind of combination. Both concepts of the sacredness of the individual and the sacredness of the community have deep spiritual roots. It is wrong to overemphasize one against the other.

[In response to Paul Williams]

I also want to respond to the American issue. I want to emphasize the difference between the ideal and the real. I don't think that there is anything wrong with any religion or state celebrating its ideals and being proud of them, e.g. American ideals and it's constitution. The mistake comes in putting its realities under the carpet e.g., the destruction of Native American people over several centuries. That is the difference between the ideal and the real. You can celebrate the ideal of the Bills of Rights and use it as a working document, *but you must also* confess to the sinfulness of having not extended that to every human being.

I feel the same way about Judaism and what it needs to both celebrate and confess. I think that it is very healthy to do both. We're not going to sell the ideals of a more humane world order to the average person without having a strong degree of positive pride. But we can also sell this with a strong dose of repentance.

John Huddleston

[In response to Nadia Saad]

I would like to respond to the question of individual rights and striving for happiness. We had to be deeply concerned in the past about rights because we had to deal with oppressive governments. Freeing ourselves from oppressive government has been essential so that we can become full and mature human beings. That is the history of the human rights movement. But beyond that we should stop to think -- what is our purpose in life? I would suggest that the purpose that you would find in all great world religions is not simply to "be happy," but to become noble beings, to move toward God. And if we talk about civilization as being dedicated to helping all persons -- every man, woman and child on the planet -- to achieve their full potential, then things start to fall into place.

The second point I want to take up is the unhealthy overemphasis in our own time on the nation state. The religious community can play a very powerful role in changing this. We should start talking about being world citizens. Religions in all the countries of the world have great influence in the education process. I do not see why it would not be possible for Christians, Muslims, Jews, Buddhists, Hindus, and Baha'is to work together to introduce into every national education system this concept of what it is to be a world citizen. Religious communities are much more powerfully placed to do this than the secular intellectuals and the academics who can come up with wonderful ideas but cannot persuade people to implement them. Religion, because it is so close to the heart of the vast majority of people is in a position to do what academics cannot do. I suggest that one of the things that we should be doing as a united religious community is helping our own countries to introduce this concept of being a world citizen and all that this implies. If taken seriously, this propoosal could be a major element in establishing a just and peaceful global society. This is in effect a response to the

fourth guideline question we were given -- e.g., developing a multi-religious movement for a humane world order.

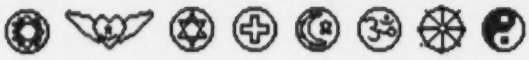
David Little

[In response to Jim O'Dea]

I just want to pick up on the point about conscience made by the gentleman from Amnesty International and connect it with some of the other points that have been made. I also want to put in a good word for Hugo Grotius. Grotius is a complicated figure and he said many different things in regard to the freedom of religion. Some of them were liberal and some of them not, but on the international side, it seems to me fair to say that the great objective of Hugo Grotius in secularizing natural law was precisely to create a space for the exercise of conscience that was not dominated by any particular state, community, or, for that matter, religious community, in any forceful or coercive way. In other words, Grotius was part of a movement in the 17th and 18th centuries that was deeply committed to the idea that conscience really is sovereign and to have a sovereign conscience means that there is, at least on this earth, no higher authority -- not the state, not other groups. The implication of that view, very precisely, was that everyone should be free within some limits to exercise that conscience without forcible intrusion from earthly authorities.

Now that principle, it seems to me, very much underlies the principles enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Article 18 includes not only religious liberty but also freedom of conscience. That principle, it seems to me, is at the root of the idea of non-discrimination that I was talking about. In brief, one may not be disadvantaged or mistreated or persecuted in the civil order because of one's conscientious beliefs. The implication of that idea is, in a certain way, to secularize the civil order but I am not sure that is altogether so bad.

I must say that I feel a bit concerned by *loose* talk about re-sacralizing the civil order. I don't mean to say that religion should not play a role in civil and political life, but we must remember our history. We have tried sacralization of the civil order in a number of ways in our own Western tradition and elsewhere, and in reaction we have generated precisely the emphasis upon sovereignty of conscience and all the privileges that go with that. Sovereignty of conscience can be abused. I am not suggesting it can't be. My view is that making human rights work requires a delicate balance, as others have suggested, between trying to make sufficient room for individual liberty, and at the same time attending to communal interests. But both sides in this discussion need to be represented and remembered and the great virtues of protecting freedom of conscience seem to me to be an important part of that.



Anand Mohan

I am fully in agreement with the comment that Mr. David Little has made. I should not like to appear that I minimize the importance of conscience or of tolerance for dissent, although those of us raised in the eastern religious traditions take this for granted. Certainly, the attitude of Grotius was most commendable. While Suarez and other Catholic writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries considered Protestants to be heretics who were to be fought with the utmost bitterness, and the protestants reciprocated in kind, Grotius, writing in the midst of the most savage of religious wars, refrained from all expressions of hostility, not merely as a political posture, but out of a genuine religious conviction.

His tolerance went even further. While recognizing a special bond among Christian powers, Grotius was the first writer to suggest the abandonment of discrimination against Saracens and other infidels. My comments on Grotius in my initial presentation were confined to what I think were the unfortunate consequences which flowed from his attempt to secularize and modernize the conception of natural law and divorce it altogether from its religious moorings. Grotius might not have intended those unfortunate consequences; but they are not any the less unfortunate for that reason. The development of international law as purely customary and conventional law, entirely positivistic in its thrust, and not binding on its subjects except with their own consent, and only when it served their perceived individual interests, is certainly not a desirable development.

I am very indebted to Rabbi Gopin for suggesting at the very outset that, in the process of sitting in hasty judgement on the horrible things that secular institutions have done, we ought to remind ourselves of the dual character of our own religious traditions -- that in the long history of human civilization, some of those who have spoken and acted in the name of God and of God's law, have also been the agents of a great deal of oppression and cruelty, the provokers of many wars and hostilities, and the abetters of animosities.

The only cure for this terrible malady lies in what Dr. Said characterized as internal discipline. The sure way in which we can become authentically religious and genuinely spiritual is by becoming as self-critical as possible and desirable. It is very easy to criticize someone else's religious tradition, and very difficult to criticize one's own. But unless the strongest and sternest critics of the ailings of a particular religious tradition are to be found amongst the adherents of that very tradition, our attempts to promote inner-religious dialogue, and peace, understanding, and harmony between religious groups and communities will forever elude us.

Lastly, I should like to say that the whole rhetoric of rights is alien, not only to the Hebraic tradition, as Rabbi Gopin pointed out, but to all the religious traditions of the world -- East and West. Indeed, I would go so far as to venture that even in the secular tradition of

the West, one heard constant references to the prevalence of natural law, but not of natural rights -- at least not until their Lockean formulation in the seventeenth century.

I am reminded, in this context, that when the eminent historian, H.G. Wells, suggested in the middle of World War II that the world sorely needed a Declaration of the Rights of Man, Mahatma Ghandhi countered by asserting what the world really needed was a Declaration of the Duties of Man. I am personally inclined to agree with Ghandhi. Rights and duties are two faces of the same coin. We have erred egregiously by espousing rights and eschewing obligations.

Abdul Aziz Said

I offer a short story about a person who went East and ordered a shirt to be tailored. This was in Egypt. After they agreed upon everything, the person asked, "When will my shirt be ready?" The tailor said, "In a week, In Shallah." *In Shallah* means "God willing." The person came a week later and said, "Where's my shirt?" The tailor said, "It is not ready yet." And the person said, "Please tell me when my shirt will be ready and take Allah out of it." The tailor said, "That I cannot tell you."

Many years later the Egyptian came to New York and he saw a group of Americans with wooden paddles in hand, making waves in the ocean. He asked, "What are you doing?" They said, "We are making yogurt." He said, "How can you make yogurt out of ocean water without yogurt cultures?" They said, "If you try hard enough you can make anything out of anything."

In much of the East human responsibility has gone to lunch; divine will is present. In much of the West, divine will has gone to lunch; human responsibility is present. When human responsibility has gone to lunch, human energy becomes dissipated; when divine energy has gone to lunch, human energy becomes misdirected. This is scientific materialism. So what we ought to do in the civil order is make room on the table for both human responsibility and divine will. They eat at the same table because this is how we are going to discover that the divine and the personal are connected. This is how we are going to discover in our own lives that investment of the sacred means the humanization of the sacred and the consecration of the human.

This not alien to any religion. Going back to David Little, this is where I talk about political fundamentalism. You and I have to get together and acknowledge that while it's true that in the 16th and the 18th centuries people accepted the teaching of a church, an organized religion, that said the Earth is flat, today we are just as myopic. We aaccept the doctrine of "scientific politics." That too is fundamentalist; it is another pathology.

Serif Mardin

My remarks here are a summary of what I said before. It is impossible to understand Islam without trying to understand Muslims -- without understanding the specific role that they have forged for the implementation of the values of Islam. Islam is not an empty vessel. There are certain ways in which Muslims think about the implementation of their values which are part of their historical memory. The best informed public opinion in the United States and in the world has not really given attention to the way in which the Islamic historical memory is structured. That structuring is the way Muslims carry out their values. That is the point we have to underline if we want to talk about Islam.

Patricia Mische

Professor Mardin held up something important to think about. We are at a conference on global structures that assumes the relevant structures of world order include only or primarily political structures. But Professor Mardin is suggesting there are deeper and more significant structures -- structures of mind. Structures of mind undergird and inform political structures, whether at local, national or global levels. Structures of mind include the historical experiences, beliefs, and traditions of people. They are multi-faceted and complex. So when we think about global structures we need to keep in mind that they include not only political arrangements. There are also structures of mind, heart, spirit, and meaning. How do we bring these two types of structures -- structures of mind and meaning and political structures together to inform each other?

In closing, it is important to note that this has been only a beginning dialogue. In this symposium it has been asserted that religion is both an *actor* and an *object* in global affairs. Religion affects global policies and is affected by them. Religion is not apart from history. It acts in history and is acted upon.

How can we bring the positive strengths of the world's religious traditions, memories, faith, and spirituality to bear on the kind of world order we want to help bring into being in the next century? Religious groups have institutions of learning, social structures, social systems that are important networks of local, national and global activity. They can have tremendous effects on structures. For better or for worse, they will affect the shape of the future. They will do this through both structures of mind and global political structures. Religion should thus be included in discourse and initiatives related to world order and global governance, now and into the next century.

SUMMARY REPORT

SYMPOSIUM ON RELIGION AND GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

February 4, 1994 Washington, D.C.
Sponsored by
the Religion Council of Project Global 2000
Rapporteur: Sharon Fritsch, Global Education Associates

Abstract

Members of seven different religious traditions spoke from their perspective on the contribution of religion to the development of ethical and humane systems of global governance, with special relevance to human rights, peace and conflict resolution, economic well-being, ecological sustainability and cultural integrity.

The panelists focused their presentations on the Guideline Questions being explored by leaders of the world's religions in the Religion and World Order Program of Project Global 2000 -- a partnership of four U.N. agencies and 13 international non-governmental organizations, some secular and some religious. The goal of the Project is to work collaboratively -- through education, business, youth, health, communications, and religion -- to move the world toward a more humane world order and to do that across organizational lines and secular-religious lines. The project is coordinated by Global Education Associates.

The Religion and World Order Program documents will be developed from the perspective of each faith tradition and used for dialogue within their own religious communities. They will also be used in inter-religious dialogue and for the creation of an inter-religious document which will be presented to the United Nations in 1995 to use in international dialogue.

The panelists interacted among themselves and with the audience on how the world's religions can contribute their traditions, memories, faith and spirituality in a positive way to shape future global structures of mind and global political entities. In particular, they discussed: (1) proposed elements of a shared global ethic, (2) the requirements for a truly global civic society, (3) policies, systems and instruments to support a global society, and (4) multi-religious strategies for advancing effective world systems.

Proposals Advanced Regarding Religion and Global Governance

Include in the elements of a shared global ethic:

- A theology of the other: of compassion for those who are not and will never be a part of one's religious system. (e.g. A prohibition against oppressing the stranger is found 36 times in the Bible shared by the Christian, Jewish and Islamic faiths.) (Gopin)

- A sense of purpose, a confidence in the future. (Huddleston)

- Non-discrimination; i.e. human rights must be available to everyone and incumbent upon everyone regardless of race, gender, religion, etc. (Little)

- The sovereign equality of nations; i.e. at present some are more equal than others. (Mohan)

- Peace as the first and foremost condition for civilized life. (Mohan)

- The principle that no one is over the law; all, small and big powers, are under the law. (Mohan)

- *Dharma* or "that which sustains the earth"; any principle of ethics or law must be consistent with peace, security and the well-being of all people. (Mohan)

- Conscience as a kind of global transparency through which we recognize one another and are at one with each other. (Jim O'Dea, Amnesty International)

- An appreciation of diversity and a conscious confrontation of our prejudices. (Huddleston)

In order to build a true global civic society,

- Each religion take responsibility for the dual role of religion in history -- its negative role at times in promoting violence and its positive commitment to social justice and compassion -- by exploring how it can redemptively move that legacy into non-violent and humane global governance. (Gopin)

  Comment: The only way that we can be authentically religious is to be our own best critics. Peace between the religions cannot be furthered unless the strongest critics of any particular religious tradition are within that community and not outside it. (Mohan)

- Each religion give sustained attention to the compatibility of its traditions with human rights interpretations and requirements. (Little)

- Peoples and religions take into account the historical dynamics of faith traditions, such as Islam, rather than regard it as a simple repository of ethical values. The best informed public opinion has not really given attention to the way in which the Islamic historical memory is structured. (Mardin)

- The United States, with its cultural inheritance and religious idealism, take a lead in creating a global society. (Huddleston)

  Comments: (1) I find the idea that America has a certain preeminence because of its spiritual superiority to be very troubling. (2) The U.S. is going in the wrong direction relative to its consumption of resources.

Response: (1) The Baha'i teaching about America is that its spiritual leadership will come from those who have suffered, specifically Afro-Americans and Native Americans. Also America has people from all over the world with a diversity of experience. (Huddleston)

(2) The fact that we are gathered here from different religions is abundant testimony to the great spirit of tolerance and accommodation and understanding which is possible in America, more than in any other society in the world. (Mohan)

(3) I would challenge people from different countries to explore the founding of your country; all have a spiritual destiny. (Corinne McLaughlin)

(4) I don't think that there is anything wrong with any religion or state celebrating its ideals but it must also confess to the sinfulness of not living up to them. (Gopin)

- Inner-governance (spiritual discipline) be developed simultaneously with global (external) governance; internal disarmament is vital to external disarmament. (Mische, Said)

Pursue the following policies, systems and instruments:

- A sacralization of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; i.e. translating it into one's religious experience, one's spiritual and religious roots. (e.g. In Jewish texts the word "right" is more appropriately translated "obligation" and religious experience would incline the believer to see in each right a corresponding obligation.) (Gopin)

  Comment: The language of rights is alien to all authentic religious traditions. What we need is not a Declaration of the Rights of Man but a declaration of the obligations of human beings to each other. (Mohan)

- A selected growth economy which would deny profit to products which undermine human and ecological well-being. (Gopin)

- A democratic federal world government supported by a world police force, the first stage of which is disarmament and the ending of war (Huddleston)

  Comment: National sovereignty is disintegrating as an effective ideology. The world's religions can help to make nationalism less holy and sacred. (Christopher Currie, World Federalist)

- A more comprehensive and systematic statement on the freedom of religion and protection from religious discrimination. (Little)

- A reorganization of the Security Council to reflect the ethical imperative of peace. (Mohan)

Engage in multi-religious strategies for advancing effective world systems:

- The construction of a conflict resolution methodology that emanates out of the different faith traditions but ends up with a universal shared actions. (Gopin)

- The construction of international strategies for the empowerment of the poor that emanates out of the different faith traditions but ends up with universal shared actions. (Gopin)

- The reassertion of the root principles of religion in ordering the world. i.e. Grotius secularized the concept of natural law in the hope that natural law, liberated from the constraints of Christian theology, would be more appropriate for maintaining peace. Instead, natural law became positivism in international law as reflected in the Charter of the United Nations. (Mohan)

  Comment: The great object of Hugo Grotius in secularizing the natural law was to create a space for pre-conscience which was not dominated by any particular state or religious community in any coercive way. Every-one should, within some limits, be free to exercise that conscience without forcible intrusion from earthly authorities. I think that this is, in a certain way, to secularize the civil order and I am not sure that is altogether so bad. (Little)

  Response: I am fully in agreement with David Little, but the intervention made by Grotius was in the context of the religious tradition that was not hospitable to the notion of conscience. My comments were confined to the notion of law as purely conventional, contractual, or customary and not dependent on any source higher than man-made notions or statutory obligations. (Mohan)

- The re-investment of the sacred which emanates from the inner essence of one's being and implies action from a faith commitment and may or may not be informed by allegiance to any particular religion. (Said)

  Comment: I feel a bit concerned by loose talk about re-sacralizing the civil order. I don't mean to say that religion should not play a role in civil thought but we must remember our history. (Little)

  Response: In the civil order we ought to make room for human responsibility and divine will. They are connected. Investment of the sacred means the humanization of the sacred and the consecration of the human. (Said)

- The creation of a "new story" for the human community in which we get to a common vision out of a multiplicity of visions. (Said)

Comments: (1) We need to go back to the roots of our religion and find our basic universals. (Huddleston)

(2) The essence of genuine religion drives us into the *dharma*, into the stories and mythology that unites us. (Paul Williams, Christian Children's Fund)

(3) We lack the language that would allow us to create a new vision of global relationship. (Nadia Saad, World Bank)

- The development of the concept of being a world citizen with all its ramifications. (Religious communities are much more powerfully placed to do this than secular intellectuals and academics who can come up with ideas but cannot implement them.) (Huddleston)

The tension between individual and common good was also explored somewhat:

- My happiness contributes to the general good which is the sum of the happiness of individuals. This idea of self-determination atomizes the society and atomizes us as individual and atomizes states. (Nadia Saad, World Bank)

  Comments: (1) You name "individual rights" as an alienating process. That is deserving of a great deal of discussion. We don't want to turn our back on the victories and ideals of a world committed to the individual as a sacred being. We need some kind of combination of both individual and communal rights. (Gopin)

  (2) We are not here for happiness but to become noble beings, to move toward God. (Huddleston)

PARTICIPANTS
in
SYMPOSIUM ON RELIGION AND GLOBAL GOVERNANCE
February 4, 1994, Washington DC

Panel Presenters

Moderator: Dr. Patricia Mische, Co-Founder, Global Education Associates;
Director, Religion and World Order Program of Project Global 2000
Rabbi Marc Gopin, Asst. Director, Washington Institute for Jewish Leadership and Values
Dr. John Huddleston, Baha'is of the U.S.; Assistant Director, International Monetary Fund
Dr. David Little, Presbyterian, U.S.A.; Senior Scholar of Religion, U.S. Institute of Peace
Dr. Serif Mardin, Professor of Islamic Studies, American University
Dr. Anand Mohan, Association of Hindu Temples of North America
Dr. Abdul Aziz Said, Sufi; Director of Peace and Conflict Studies, American University

Discussants

Peter Adrienne, Baha'is of US, Washington, DC
Charles Bebb, World Federalists, Kansas City, MO
Jessica Bosma, Baltimore, MD
Karon Brashares, Washington, DC
David W. Cammack, Baltimore, MD
Carl Casebalt, Fairfax, VA
Chris Churrie, Burlington, MA
Robert H. Cory, Washington, DC
Fred Culver, Center for Global Community, Kansas City, MO
Paul Dee, New York, NY
Rev. John Eyrrick, Montgomery, NY
Robert Fisher, Rising Sun, MD
Charles Frascati, Baltimore, MD
Nancy Frommelt, Wallingford, PA
Phil Fryberger, Black Mountain, NC
Frank R. Golino, Darnestown, MD
Paulette Hammond, Baltimore, MD
Steve Holtye, Rockford, MN
Sarita Hoyt, Washington, DC
Capt. Tom Hudgens, Cherry Hills, CO
Rosalind Irwin, York University, N. York, Ontario, CANADA
Charles L. Kent, Bethesda, MD
Joan O. King, Sautee, GA
Paul Kuhn, Indianapolis, Indiana
Amy Kummerow, Urbana, IL
Tony Langbehn, Boldie, MD

H.D. Leighty, Waterloo, IA
Sara Lisherness, Presbyterian Peacemaking Program, Louisville, KY
Donna McDaniel, Southboro, MA
Corinne McLaughlin, Bethesda, MD
Maria Brink Mueller, Minneapolis, MN
Jim O'Dea, Washington, DC
Judith Oudijans, Amsterdam, THE NETHERLANDS
Arnold Peterson, Camp Springs, MD
Rae Peterson, Center for Global Community, Kansas City, MO
Ruth H. Purkaple, Denver, CO
Jean Rieschl, Kewaunce, WI
Barbara Rohde, Corvallis, OR
Jan Marie Rushforth, Lansdowne, PA
Nadia Saad, Chevy Chase, MD
Oussama Safa, Silver Spring, MD
Barry Sultanoff, Kensington, MD
Virginia Swain, Center for Global Community/World Law, Cambridge, MA
Ellen Thasp, Ellicott City, MD
Jon Trevathan, Warrenton, VA
Renate Valhe-Laurel, Hamburg, GERMANY

Global Education Associates

475 Riverside Drive, Suite 1848, NY, NY 10115
212/870-3290 Fax 212/870-2729

Global Education Associates (GEA) is an association of individual and institutional associates in 90 countries working to enable people to understand and respond constructively to the crises and opportunities of today's interdependent world. Special emphasis is on global systems change needed for a more peaceful, equitable, and sustainable future. Toward this end the associates conduct research, leadership seminars, and educational programs; publish materials; offer consulting services; and facilitate networking at local, national, and international levels.

Highlights from 20 Years

Over 2,500 workshops, institutes, and symposia have been conducted by staff and core associates around the world.

Publications: *Breakthrough* and the *Whole Earth Papers* series have been acclaimed world wide as being among the best material available on global interdependence and world order issues. *Breakthrough News* is a communications vehicle for associates and affiliates.

Graduate-level institutes on global interdependence and world order issues have been conducted by staff and core associates at more than 20 universities around the world.

More than 400 monographs, articles, and books have been written by GEA staff and core associates on world order issues, ecological security, and global spirituality,

Project Global 2000. GEA initiated and coordinates this global partnership of international non-governmental organizations and United Nations agencies that are linking their expertise, resources, and networks in collaborative efforts for a more just, peaceful, and sustainable world order. Eleven non-governmental organizations and four United Nations agencies are charter partners. Many other secular and religious organizations are linking through **six Program Councils:** Religion, Education, Health, Youth, Business, and Communications The Councils provide linkages with important constituencies whose expertise and networks are needed to meet today's multi-dimensional global challenges. They utilize the expertise, programs, and materials of the partners for objectives beyond the reach of organizations acting alone. And they provide opportunities to expand their own outreach and to benefit from expertise, perspectives, and linkages of their partners.

The Earth Covenant. GEA is coordinating this worldwide initiative to build a broadly-based citizen's movement for ecological security and sustainable development. Translated into 20 languages and signed by two million people in over 100 countries, it is widely used as a tool for education, research, citizens action and policy change. The Covenant process is being coordinated with the Earth Charter Initiative, launched in April 1994 by the Green Cross (headed by Mikhail Gorbachev) and the Earth Council (headed by Maurice Strong.)

A 17-part television series was produced by CBS based on co-founders, Gerald and Patricia Misches' book, *Toward a Human World Order.*

Affiliates

International Institute of Concern for Public Health, Toronto
Philippine Council for Peace and Global Education, Manila
Genesis Farm and Environmental Center, New Jersey
Upper Midwest GEA, St. Paul
Michaela Farm and Environmental Center, Indiana

PROJECT GLOBAL 2000

A Global Partnership for a Humane and Just World Order

Project Global 2000 is an international partnership of United Nations agencies and nongovernmental organizations that are combining their expertise, networks, and influence to develop a forum and process in which all sectors of society can participate in the shaping of a more equitable, sustainable, and inclusive world order. Special emphasis is on reconceptualizing security and sovereignty in the context of economic and ecological interdependence and on systems of governance commensurate to that interdependence. Global Education Associates, with associates in over 90 countries, serves as the project's coordinating partner.

Project Global 2000 is sponsored by the following international partner organizations which form its International Partnership Council.

Centre for Our Common Future
Global Education Associates
International Institute for Rural Reconstruction
International Peace Research Association
Parliamentarians Global Action
Society for International Development
United Nations Environment Programme
United Nations Childrens Fund (UNICEF)
United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization
United Nations Population Fund
World Conference on Religion and Peace
World Federalist Movement
World Federation of United Nations Associations
World Future Studies Federation
World Order Models Project

Many other networks and institutes, are linking through PG2000's Program Councils on **Education, Health, Religion, Youth, Business** and **Communications.** The councils provide links with key constituencies whose expertise, networks, and action are vital for resolving today's global-scale, multi-sectoral challenges. They utilize expertise, programs, and materials of the partners for objectives beyond the reach of organizations acting alone.

The project has four principal objectives:

1. To develop a conceptual and institutional framework for responding to the new challenges of economic and ecological interdependence;

2. To develop an ongoing, collaborative process for research, dialogue, and action related to developing ethically-based and effective systems of global governance;

3. To produce research and policy documents as tools for analysis, education, and building a multi-sectoral movement for world order policy and systems change;

4. To disseminate and use these documents through the partner networks to develop and implement collaborative strategies for achieving such change.

Project Global 2000, c/o Global Education Associates
475 Riverside Drive, #1848, NY, NY 10115 (212) 870-3290 Fax 870-2729

RELIGION AND WORLD ORDER

Religious Networks as World Order Actors

The Religion and World Order Program is an initiative of the Religion Council of Project Global 2000, a global partnership of secular and religious NGOs and UN agencies that are linking their expertise and networks for more just, sustainable, and peaceful world systems.

The program is involving scholars, educators, and community groups from the world's major religious and spiritual traditions in developing a framework and process to work together with secular non-governmental organizations and United Nations agencies to increase public discourse and concerted action for policies and systems commensurate to the problems and opportunities of today's interdependent world.

Objectives

1. Create a process for religious and spiritual communities to reflect upon the contributions their traditions, scriptures, and networks can make to a shared global ethic and to the creation of systems of global governance.

2. Produce reflection-action documents that will spell out the above contributions and formulate proposals for world order policy and systems change.

3. Link human and institutional resources with those of other religions, secular NGOs and UN agencies in collaborative research, education, publications, leadership, and networking for a more just, peaceful, participatory, and sustainable world order.

Program

Working groups from different religions, spiritual traditions, and indigenous peoples are holding consultations on the contribution that their respective traditions, scriptures, teachings, and networks can make to a shared global ethic and to systems of global governance to deal with problems that transcend national boundaries. Through a participatory process, each group will produce a reflection-action document on global governance for circulation and use by their members to (1) raise consciousness on the need to redefine security and sovereignty in the context of global interdependence, and (2) promote involvement in education programs and celebration events being planned for the United Nation's 50th anniversary in 1995.

The questions the documents will address are not *whether* there will be a new world order, but rather *what kind* of world order? Based on what values? Guided by what ethical principles and policies? Organized according to what systems and structures? Who will shape this new world order? For whose benefit? Can we shape a world order that benefits not only some, but all of us -- not only those of us living now, but also those who will inherit the world we create?

An international conference will be held in the fall of 1995 at which the perspectives and proposals of the documents will be shared with scholars, policy-makers, representatives of UN agencies, and leaders in education, religion, business, health, youth, communication, and civic organizations. Participants will initiate a process to produce a multi-religious document on world order. They will also prepare strategies and programs by which diverse religious institutions and networks can collaborate among themselves, and with secular organizations and UN agencies, through the year 2000 for strengthened, democratic, and equitable systems of global governance.

Project Global 2000, c/o Global Education Associates
475 Riverside Drive, #1848, NY, NY 10115 (212) 870-3290 Fax 870-2729

BEST COPY AVAILABLE